

THE “*CONDER*” TOKEN

COLLECTOR'S JOURNAL

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONDER TOKEN COLLECTOR'S CLUB

Volume XII Number 2 Summer, 2007 Consecutive Issue #44



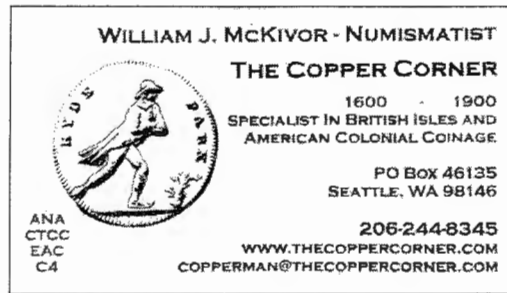
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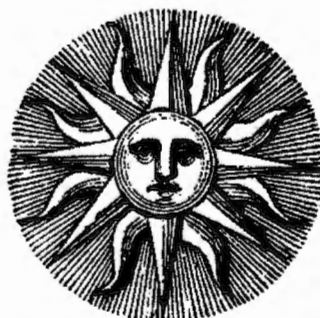
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Volume XII Number 2

Summer 2007

Consecutive Issue #44

Introduction	Michael Grogan	Page 4
Token Tales	R.C. Bell	Page 5
Blything Hundred	John Fisher	Page 9
"Bis" Demystified	Bill McKivor	Page 12
Brighton, East Sussex	Tony Fox	Page 16
Ex Libris	Harold Welch	Page 22
James Wright, Junior	David Dykes	Page 23
Great Tales from English History	Tom Fredette	Page 28
2006 Annual Review	Tony Fox	Page 31
The Conder Era 1788	Michael Grogan	Page 34
Officer Directory		Page 35
New Members		Page 35
Exchange and Mart		Page 36



INTRODUCTION

MICHAEL GROGAN

LAST CALL FOR OFFICER CANDIDATES CTCC ELECTION 2007

It is the last chance to consider running for club office in the elections scheduled for later in 2007. President, Vice President US, Vice President International, and Treasurer positions will be elected. We are a volunteer club and appreciate members willing to serve. Candidates must submit their names to me **no later than September 15, 2007** so that a ballot can be included in the Fall issue.

ARTICLES NEEDED

Your article is needed for the next issue of the Journal. This issue offers a great variety of interesting reading on a variety of Conder token topics. Consider making a contribution to the next issue. I will be glad to help any member get started or put the final polish on an article. Note that any member contributing a major article will receive a special color edition of that issue as our thanks.

SHOULD WE EXPAND OUR CLUB'S AREA OF INTEREST?

In his Letter to the Editor in the last issue, Tony Fox suggests that the CTCC expand its interests to include 17th century and 19th century tokens. In previous discussions, the club leadership has informally agreed to stay somewhat roughly within the confines of the rule of George III. The Journal has published articles on Evasion tokens and 19th century silver tokens. An article relating to 19th century copper tokens would certainly be welcome. Should we also consider 17th century tokens within our scope of interest? Several members have voiced their support for including 17th century tokens and none have objected; thus articles on 17th century tokens will be welcomed for Journal publication.

EXCHANGE AND MART ADS UPDATED

As usual for the summer issue, all ads in the Exchange and Mart section have been reviewed and updated. Check the ads for members wanting to buy or sell Conder related items. Also consider placing your own ad, listings of 12 lines or less are free for CTCC members.

ON THE COVER

According to R.C. Bell, this rare silver halfcrown from Gregg Moore's collection was engraved by Milton from a design by Colonel William Fullarton. Apparently Fullarton intended to produce a series of silver pieces for circulation in Scotland. The Prince of Wales is portrayed on the obverse, with his permission, and Royal Arms on the reverse. Sir Joseph Banks warned that the silver coins could be treasonous so only white metal examples were made at the time. Matthew Young struck a few silver pieces several years later. W.J. Taylor made even later restrikes identifiable by a flaw under the bust, absent from our cover coin.

TOKEN TALES

JOSEPH PRIESTLY: SCIENTIST, REFORMER

By R.C. BELL, NLG
NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE, ENGLAND

Joseph Priestly was born in 1733, the son of a cloth-dresser. He was adopted by an aunt who had married the wealthy John Keighley. Joseph attended Battey grammar school from 1745 and was well grounded in Latin and began Greek. Later he became a pupil of John Kirkley and learned Hebrew. He taught himself French, German, and Italian with the intention of entering commerce, but in 1751 he enrolled at the new dissenting academy at Daventry instead. He acquired the rudiments of Chaldee, Syriac and Arabic.



Joseph Priestly
Warwickshire 33 by Cheapside Tokens

In 1755 he went to Needham market, Suffolk, as an assistant to John Meadows at less than £ 30 a year. In 1758 he became minister at Nantwich, Cheshire. The congregation was small and he started a flourishing school which with private tuition occupied him from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m.

In 1761 he became tutor in languages and belles-lettres at Warrington Academy and in 1762 he was ordained. Two years later he was honored with the diploma of LL.D by Edinburgh University. The same year he married Mary Wilkinson, the only sister of John Wilkinson, the Shropshire ironmaster.



John Wilkinson
Warwickshire 432 by Cheapside Tokens

In January 1766 Priestly went to London and met Benjamin Franklin who encouraged him to write "The History of Electricity". This book drew Priestly into an extensive series of original experiments, and on the strength of these he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

In 1772 he published "The History of Light". Five years previously he has taken up the ministry at Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds at a salary of £ 105 a year plus a house. In 1770 he founded the Leeds circulating library and in 1772 became the librarian to the earl of Shelburne and tutor to the latter's son at

a salary of £ 250 a year and a house at Calne, Wiltshire. The earl also gave him an additional £ 40 a year towards his scientific experiments, and a similar sum was contributed by scientific friends. During his service with the earl he carried out his famous experiment with dephlogisticated air [now called oxygen]. When Priestly retired from the earl's service in 1778 he was paid an annuity of £ 150 a year.

In 1780 he moved to Birmingham to be near his brother-in-law, John Wilkinson, who provided him with a house; while several friends contributed handsomely towards his scientific and theological researches. Josiah Wedgwood, the famous Staffordshire potter, made some of his apparatus and Samuel Parker, an optician in London, supplied him with glassware including his burning lenses. Late in 1780 Priestly was elected the junior minister of The New Meeting, Birmingham and was responsible for duty only on Sunday at a salary of £ 100.



The Old Meeting Rebuilt in 1791
Warwickshire 162 by Cheapside Tokens

He became a member of the Lunar Society, whose monthly meetings were held after dinner in member's house when the moon was full and traveling

thereby became easier. Among Lunar Society members who met to discuss scientific topics were Matthew Boulton, James Keir, James Watt, Josiah Wedgwood, Benjamin Franklin, Murdock, Sir Joseph Banks, Dr. Paar, Sir William Herschell, John Wilkinson, and Dr. William Withering, the botanist. This brilliant coterie later formed the basis for the formation of the British Association.

Every fortnight Priestly discussed theology over tea with his clerical colleagues and in 1790 he published "General History of the Christian Church". He supported reforms in the slave trade and the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts; and antagonized popular opinion by his "Letters to Burke", in which he advanced the principles of the French Revolution. He also became a member of the radical Constitutional Society of Birmingham.



Priestley's hand forge, destroyed in the riot
Warwickshire 33 by Cheapside Tokens

On July 14, 1791, the society held a dinner in Dadley's hotel, Temple row, to commemorate the fall of the Bastille, Priestly was not present, but there were several inflammatory speeches made during the evening. A rival King and

Country Society held a dinner at the Swan hotel in Bull street. About 8 p.m. a crowd of reactionaries broke the windows of Dadley's hotel, and finding the Constitutional Society had left, the mob decided to attack the homes of the organizers, of whom they wrongly assumed Priestly to be the leader.



A London token lauding the British Constitution
Middlesex 295 by Cheapside Tokens

They wrecked the New Meeting and the Old Meeting and then attacked Priestley's house at Fairhill and destroyed nearly all his books, papers and apparatus. The doctor and his family managed to escape before the incendiaries arrived. Rioting continued for the next two days; jails were opened, seven houses were burned down and many others were wrecked. The magistrates were powerless to control the riot and eventually dragoons were brought from Nottingham to restore order.

Recriminations followed and Priestley's friends charged the authorities, including the clergy, with culpable dereliction of duty; but popular feeling throughout the country was against Priestly and his ideas even the king wrote to Dundas that although disapproving of the atrocious

means employed, he was pleased that Priestley was the sufferer. Five of the rioters were tried at Worcester and two were executed; twelve others were tried at Warwick with four convictions, two being executed. A moderate compensation was awarded to the victims. Priestley's compensation was some £ 2000 short of his losses.

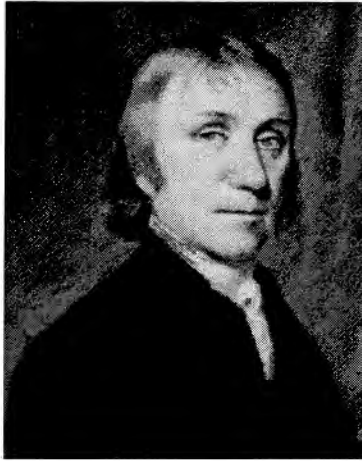
Priestley seems to have been astonished at the violence aroused by his views which were to him an academic exercise on the same plane as his theological arguments. Friends advised him to leave Birmingham for his own safety and in December 1791 he became the morning preacher at the Gravel Pit Chapel, Hackney. His life reverted to its old routine; friends gathered around and made up his losses. John Wilkinson presented him with £ 500 and £ 200 a year.



Edinburgh University
Lothian 7 by Dave Stuart

In September 1792 he was made a citizen of France and elected a member for the department of Orne in the National Convention. He accepted citizenship but declined election.

In August 1793 his three sons emigrated to America and Dr. Priestly and his wife



Joseph Priestley

followed in April 1794. He settled in Northumberland, Pennsylvania and held religious services in his own home; and

from about 1799 in an adjoining wooden building. He published the results of new experiments to the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia; wrote against Thomas Paine and a number of French freethinkers, and sided with the Democrats against the Federalists. He never became an American citizen.

In 1801 he was seriously ill and had to restrict the volume of his work. He died on February 6, 1804, and was buried in the Quaker's cemetery. His library of four thousand volumes was sold in Philadelphia in 1816 for four thousand dollars.



THE PRIESTLEY RIOTS

1791

BLYTHING HUNDRED – LOYAL SUFFOLK YEOMANRY

By: John Fisher

Miniver loved the days of old
When swords were bright and steeds were prancing.
The vision of a warrior bold
Would send him dancing.

Miniver Cheevy
By: E. A. Robinson

Suffolk 17 is a uniface proof and probably unique. R. C. Bell in his book Commercial Coins 1787-1804 describes the obverse as a “mounted yeoman at full gallop with a drawn sword.” The legend reads “Loyal Suffolk Yeomanry” and in the exergue is the words “First Troop”.



Suffolk 19
Image by Dave Stuart

Suffolk 18 shares the same reverse as Suffolk 19, a castle with two towers and domed turrets on which flags are flying; beneath the castle is the inscription “Suffolk 1794”. The castle is encircled by a crowned garter and outside the garter and encircling it are the words “Blything Hundred Halfpenny”. Blything gets its name from the river Blyth, which flows through it. This reverse is similar to the Suffolk, Hoxne 6 and 33



Suffolk 6a
Image by Dave Stuart

Golding (1) reports that “ the original obverse die shows the appearance of a flaw after about 12 impressions were struck” As is usually the case whenever a die flaw is repaired or the die replaced, some poor animal undergoes a gender change and in this case the galloping male horse was transformed into a mare for Suffolk 19. On a rarity scale, 17 is RRR; 18 is RR and 19 is fairly common with about 5 cwt struck in copper. Suffolk 19 was also struck in silver in an amount unknown to this writer but most probably only a few specimens exist. It also comes with various edge inscriptions, some of which are quite rare according to Dalton & Hamer (2).

Diesinkers of this era were wont to depict a galloping horse with both front legs in the air simultaneously. This is not the way a horse actually gallops, with opposing front and rear legs on the ground simultaneously. Actually, the horse depicted on this token is prancing which means to spring forward on the hind legs. The diesinker, Hancock, probably knew better but made use of artistic license in his attempt to depict a galloping horse.

The Suffolk Yeomanry was one of the first units organized at this time because there was a growing apprehension that the French would invade the English mainland. These troops were designed to protect the homeland and were not intended to participate in foreign wars. They were also used to suppress political and civil dissent against the monarch, in the aftermath of the French Revolution. The Suffolk yeomanry was a loyalist group – the motto inside the garter proclaims “Liberty. Loyalty. Property.” The edge reads “GOD SAVE THE KING AND CONSTITUTION ”.

In May 1794, Parliament, under the leadership of William Pitt, was so fearful that the events which occurred in Revolutionary France would repeat itself in Great Britain that they passed the Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act. This lasted until July 1795 and was reinstituted from April 1798 until May 1801. The pretext for the original suspension of habeas corpus was the activity of the London Correspondence Society (LCS). The LCS, set up in January 1792 by the shoemaker Thomas Hardy and the silk merchant, John Thelwall, was looked upon by landed interests as a hotbed of Jacobean activity and a distinct threat to the monarchy and parliament. The LCS advocated universal human suffrage and other ‘radical’ political reforms. When England entered into a state of war with France in February 1793, the activities of the LCS was viewed as a threat to the existing order. Several of its leaders were rounded up and thrown in prison for treason and were held for trial for an indefinite period of time without trial by jury. Most of the leaders of the LCS appear on the token issuance of Middlesex, as does a token for the Society itself.

The leaders of the LCS were eventually tried and acquitted. This led Parliament to pass the so called “Gagging Acts” or Treasonable Practices Act, which expanded the definition of treason to include the speaking or writing of ‘treasonable’ acts, even if no action followed. This was the reason Thomas Spence was later arrested and Thomas Paine had to flee the country. Not only were the writers arrested but also the printers of such material. The Seditious Meetings Act was also passed by Parliament which made it law that public meetings of more than 50 persons had to be authorized by a magistrate. Later, the LCS was banned outright in 1799.

The leader of our gallant band of would-be warriors and issuer of the token or medalet was John Rous, the commanding officer of the Loyal Suffolk Yeomanry Cavalry. Presumably, it is he who is astride the horse. He commissioned Kempson of Birmingham to strike this token. His first lieutenant, Sir Thomas Gooch of Benacre Hall, is due the credit for the raising of the Yeomanry Cavalry Corps, in each district or hundred, which soon after, took place throughout Great Britain and Ireland. Sir Thomas made the proposal for the formation of such units through John Rous, to William Pitt in December 1792. Pitt was then Chancellor of the Exchequer. Gooch also raised a corps of Volunteer Infantry, consisting of three companies. In all of Great Britain, 34 regiments of cavalry for homeland defense were raised in 1794 and 1795. All were disbanded in 1802 with the signing of the Peace of Amiens. Other yeomanry units are represented in the Conder coinage: Middlesex 5; Norfolk 6 & 7 and 46 & 47; Somersetshire 24 and Warwickshire 27.

John Rous was the 6th baronet of Stradbroke until 1796. A baronet is considered a commoner albeit of high rank. He held a seat in The House of Commons from 1780 until 1796 when he was elevated to the rank of Baron in recognition of his service to the crown. He died in 1827, age 77.

Footnotes

1. The Coinage of Suffolk by Charles Golding
2. Dalton & Hamer list the following edge varieties:
 - 19a-CAMBRIDGE BEDFORD AND HUNTINGDON X.X (RRR)
 - 19b-WE PROMISE TO PAY THE BEARER ONE CENT (RR)
 - 19c- Milled (RRR)
 - 19d- PAYABLE IN HULL AND IN LONDON (RRR)
 - 19e- Plain (not in collar) (RRR)
3. The Davisson updated version of D&H, edited in 1990, lists the following additional varieties in the preface
 - a. *17bisI* - an unfinished trial of the obverse of 18-uniface
 - b. *17bisII* - an unfinished trial of the obverse of 18-uniface

LAST CALL FOR CANDIDATES CTCC 2007 OFFICER ELECTIONS



**CANDIDATE DEADLINE IS SEPTEMBER 15, 2007 NOTIFY MIKE GROGAN
OF YOUR INTEREST**

“BIS” demystified-----Bill McKivor

Though not a scholar in Latin, use of D&H has certainly led me to attempt to translate a number of Latin words. Not the least among them is the term “*bis*” used by D&H to denote a “new” token that was linked to a previous one. Though it is obvious what it is intended to mean in the book—an additional piece---why it was used has been a mystery. Let’s look at what they have done.

A token is given a number. Any new edge that uses the same dies is listed as a,b,c, &c.

However, if the dies are not the same, sometimes it is listed as “*bis*”.

There are a number of types of “*bis*” tokens.

Some of them are a bit like Hertfordshire 4, *bis* I and *bis* II. The *bis* tokens here are simply small changes in the reverse die, *bis* I having the mountain closer to the foot of “F”, and *bis* II having no period after the date. Other than that the token looks nearly the same. There are quite a few like this in the book, with just minor changes to one die or another.



Hertfordshire 4
Image by Bill McKivor

Another type of token using *bis* is one where a single die is the same as the token numbered, but the reverse (or obverse) is different. An Example here is Middlesex 181, where there is another piece, Middlesex 181 *bis*, with the same portrait of George III but a reverse that says “Frogmore”. There is also a piece that has the Frogmore reverse but has an obverse portrait of Queen Charlotte. These two pieces would be called *bis* I and *bis* II. This latter piece is not in D&H, but should be. Now it gets really interesting, as there is another piece with the Middlesex 180 reverse, but with the Middlesex 181*bis*II obverse, that is listed currently in Davisson’s update as Midd 180 *bis*--- A look in D&H tells us that Middlesex 180 and 181 have the same reverse, so this piece could be Midd 180*bis* or Midd 181*bis* III as it shares dies with items added to each number. Confused?



Middlesex 181 *bis* I
Image by Bill McKivor



Middlesex 180 *bis* (or 181 *bis* III)
Image by Bill McKivor



Middlesex 181 *bis* II (not listed at this time).
Image by Bill McKivor

The next type of *bis* token is one where neither the obverse or reverse die is the same, though the idea is much the same as the first piece. Middlesex 213 is like that---A National token with the bust of Pitt

as #212, and the reverse of #211. Middlesex 213 *bis* I has an entirely different bust of Pitt, and a completely different reverse. Middlesex 213 *bis* II has a third bust of Pitt, and the same reverse as 213 *bis* I. Neither is mentioned in the body of the work, one must look in the addenda to find them. Looking at the three Middlesex 213's there are thus three obverses and two reverses.



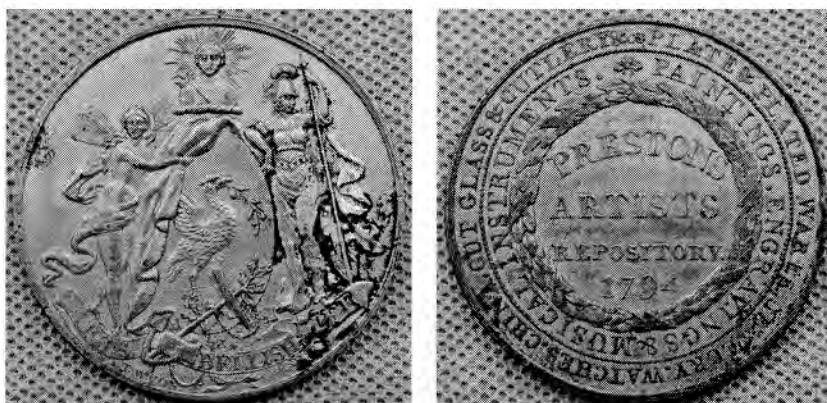
Middlesex 213 *bis* 1
Image by Cheapside Tokens

Dalton and Hamer found themselves in this position a number of times. Middlesex 1052 is a halfpenny. It features the bust of George Washington facing right, and the shield of the United States on the reverse. Since Middlesex 1053 is a farthing, any new halfpennies would have to be included at 1052 or before, and they found one---With the bust of Washington facing left this time, and a crowned harp on the reverse with the legend "North Wales". Having no number to use, they called it Middlesex 1052 *bis*. Neither die on the latter piece are anything like the pair used on the 1052.

However, there was no way around the situation-- it must go after 1052 if it was to be included at all.

Another example of this confusion would be the Preston Artist repository token, with the name of the issuer and the date, 1794. It is not in D&H, but Richard Dalton mentioned it with a full description, and indicated that it really belonged as there were other pieces like it that were allowed.

Thus, the Preston piece, as pictured, would have to follow Lancashire #4, as it is a penny token and #5 is a halfpenny. The Preston token would have to be 4*bis*. The Preston piece has absolutely nothing to do with the Lancaster bridge token--- but there is no other place for it.



Preston Artist Token
Image by Bill McKivor

It becomes obvious that something is not right here. It is intuitive to understand that *bis* was used to tack on to another piece one that had not yet been listed. That is why *bis* was needed, but it certainly seems clumsy, and many ask “what does it mean”?

In 2005, Paul and Bente Withers, in their yearly volume of *Sacre Moneta*, printed a book review of the 2004 edition of Dalton and Hamer as written by John Whitmore. In it he gives the best explanation in the fewest words that I have seen. I am going to quote him here, with a bit of editing--

(In reference to D&H)---“Over a period of eight years thirteen main parts were published, each with its own introduction. Dalton and Hamer gave each distinct die combination a number, with a following letter used only to distinguish edge varieties. They left no break in the numbering system, thus leading to a problem. When the need arose to insert a newly discovered die combination between two existing numbers, (or even a completely new token, as happened)---the word “*bis*” the Latin for twice, was rather clumsily added to the first number. If further insertions became necessary, it would seem that the Latin “*TER*”, (Three), or “*QUADRIENS*”, (Four) could have been used, but these were ignored in favor of *bis* I, *bis* II, *bis* III, etc.”

Some of these are listed in the body of the work as they were discovered before printing occurred.

Many more were listed in a fourteenth part, the “addenda and corrigenda”. Thus the reader of D&H must look to that for additional listings. As time went by, many more additions, corrections, and even new finds were noted. In 1990, again in 1996, and in 2004 updates were given with a vastly expanded addenda section or sections. In 2006, John Whitmore brought them all together in his new book, “A Token Collector’s Companion”.

“Bis” was certainly not the optimum way of adding new finds. It would have been far better if some space had been left between numbers, as the Withers did with their book on 19th C tokens. A find could have therefore been given a new, unused number that fit the situation. The fact that they did not leave this spacing created the need for some sort of way of adding a new find, and “*bis*” was their solution, most likely one they did not consider to be a very good answer to the problem.

They most likely realized this somewhere during the eight year span used to write, produce, and market the book, section by section---and by the time they did realize it, it was too late. With the printing of some of the sections started, and the photography done, “*bis*” became their solution.

We know it as an indicator that there is a token or die that had not come to their attention when writing the book, and used to insert the additional piece.

It is my theory, however, that it was to them simply a way of getting themselves out of the numismatic corner into which they found themselves painted.

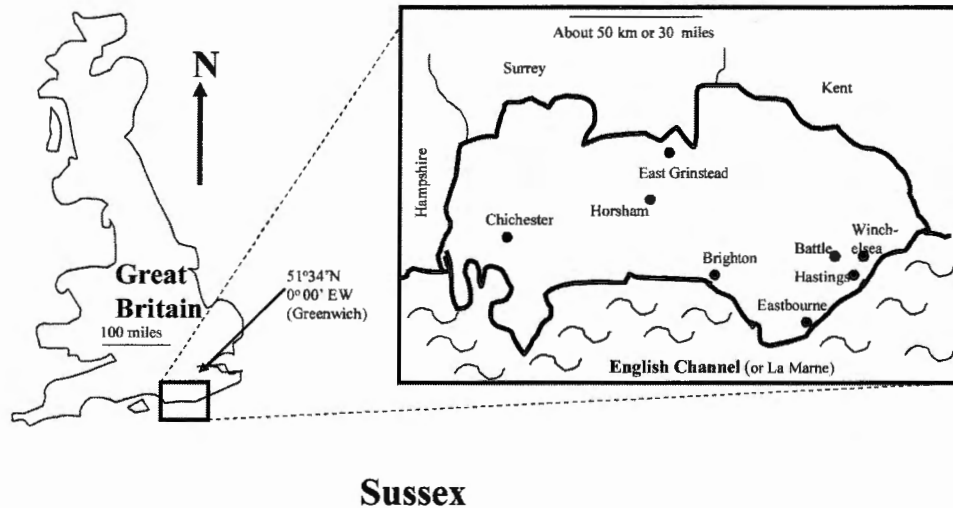
Brighton, East Sussex¹

Tony Fox

Today, Brighton is a bustling, youthful place. It boasts two universities, one being equipped with a brand new medical school, and the streets are filled with young people. This has not always been the case.

Without getting into the technical detail of Domesday,² in 1086 there were 86 men living in *Brighthelmstone*, for a total population of about 300-400. There was also one slave, but at least they did have a church, which was on a hill in the north of their village (and, although rebuilt, stands on the same spot today). In mediaeval times Brighton survived by fishing. Still a small village, and sited on a convex part of the coast, it had no harbour. The boats were dragged up and down a stony beach, and a large green (which still exists in the centre of the town) was used for drying the nets. Another church, at the northern end of that green, was built, presumably to accommodate a modest increase in the population.

Figure 1. Sussex on the map, with some of the Conder-issuing towns



But Brighton really came alive at about the same time that the Conders did. The microscopical parish to the west, Hove, was drawn in, and 'Brighton and Hove' took

their initial shape as twin towns, recognizably, as they are today. Being only about 56 miles south of London, and graced with the mild weather of the Gulf Stream, this was a popular resort amongst the upper classes, even before the railway arrived. Most spectacularly, the Brighton Pavilion began as a large farmhouse in 1787, and, somewhat post-Conder, evolved by degrees into its present exotic form over the next 35 years. This building is famous, of course, because it housed the mistress and morganatically married Mrs. Fitzherbert, consort of the Prince of Wales, nicknamed "Prinnie". The intermittent madness of King George III⁴ meant that the hedonistic Prinnie acted as Regent from time to time, and permanently after 1810. Mrs. Fitzherbert's letters, complaining about the lack of attention from Prinnie in person, can still be read inside the Pavilion. Meanwhile, the great and good, *alias* hangers-on, would periodically congregate in Brighton when the Court was there, bringing fame and prosperity to the town. Mrs. Fitzherbert's *beau* finally ascended the throne as King George IV in 1820.

Turning to the Conders themselves, we have, perhaps, a *repertoire* that is smaller than one might expect from a town with such glittering Royal connexions. Dalton and Hamer (D&H) find just eleven major types, dated, when marked at all, 1794-1796.

Perhaps this limited *repertoire* reminds us that it was not the social ascendance of a particular town that governed Conder issuance and variety. Rather it was the scale of commerce, even when the collectors' issues are excluded.

The first four issues (D&H 2, 3, 3a, 4 and 5) are closely similar and concern themselves directly with Prinnie. They also closely resemble D&H Essex nos. 36, 36a, 37, 38, and 38a. The commonality is found on both sides of the tokens, and on the edges: Sussex nos. 2, 3, 3a and 4 refer to "Brighton Camp" while their Essex counterparts refer to "Warley Camp".⁵ D&H makes the unusual comment that apart from the issues marked for these two camps, all other similar tokens relate to London (see below). The characteristic three feathers appear again at Lambeth (D&H Surrey 18; however, a different design on a farthing), and Middlesex (many). Here we have a geographical distribution of similar Prince of Wales designs that congregate in London and the south, although Prinnie's bust is seen at D&H Lancashire 121-121b, in Liverpool, a city which even lauded George Washington himself (D&H Lancashire 116). Meanwhile, Fred, the Duke of York, and somewhat on the royal "reserves bench" (to use a sporting term), is found nearby in Manchester (D&H Lancashire 138-138b). But overall, this geographical distribution of Prinnie in the south of England is more or less opposite to what can be observed for reverses showing Britannia.⁶ Is this further evidence for a North-South divide in terms of support for royalty versus more secular nationality?

D&H differentiates the Sussex nos. 2-4 using both obverse and reverse, and it is interesting to compare this with the Warley issues in Essex. Sussex No. 3 is a different obverse, with the Prince's forehead in line with a slightly earlier stage of the legend, than no. 2. The reverse of no. 4 acquires a period (full stop) after the word HALFPENNY. This is exactly how Essex 36 is distinguished in turn from nos. 37 and 38.



Left: D&H Sussex no.2

(Slightly irregular, c.28.5 mm diameter)



Right: British two pence, 2005

(25.5 mm diameter)

Essential components of the design include the three feathers (which is not a *fleur-de-lis*), and the coronet which does have *fleures-de-lis* flanking the central Maltese cross. The motto is *Ich Dien* (German: I serve) albeit rather small on the modern coin, and on the flying ribbons (representing mantling). The motto, however, is traditional and usually official in Scottish but not English heraldry.

Figure 2: The enduring emblem of the Prince of Wales.

However, this precise mapping between Sussex 2 – 4 and Essex 36 – 38 breaks down. First, Essex has no reverse dated 1795, to correspond to the Sussex 5. Second, when the edges are examined, a difference between the Warley and Brighton issues is that blanks with the date (in Roman numerals) added to their edge were used with Sussex 3 dies (making Sussex 3a) but make an Essex 36a; had the production been perfectly congruent then an Essex 37 (or a Sussex 2) would have been expected to be the recipient of this new edge type. The Sussex no.4, with the latinate date on the edge, does correspond to Essex 38a, although no.38 has the undated edge. This is perhaps unsurprising: the edges specify Brighton or Warley Camp, and probably delimit the scale of the issue in each case. Timing and practicalities of manufacture then governed which dies were applied to these edged blanks.

Overall, we can safely say that the copies of dies for two or three different obverses and at least three reverses seem to have outlasted the orders which are measured by the edges. By pursuing D&H's remark (p.33), these dies turn up again for Middlesex 965, which is, essentially a Sussex no.4 or Essex no.38 but with a different edge that is referable to Birmingham, belying the D&H assigned county. D&H have not used the same systematic order as they did for Essex and Sussex, and so the Middlesex no.967 reverts to the Sussex no. 2 and Essex no.36, but with an edge referring to Bath. The Middlesex nos. 963 and 964 are dated 1795 and correspond to Sussex no.5, but again with different edges.⁸

The remaining seven Brighton issues are more distinctive, and perhaps characteristic of an independent-minded county whose unofficial slogan in the 18th century was "*We won't be druv* [driven]". Nos. 6 – 8 have a mounted officer and a camp in the background. The meaning of the edges of nos.2 – 4 have thus been promoted to a full

side of the token. Bizarrely, the reverse of no.6 and the obverse of no.9 has the Bastille; so much for Prinnie and the Crown ! The ships at sea and marine trophies of no.7 are traditional, and the latter appears on Royal Navy sailors' medals. The heart in the hand of no.8 is a much older tradition, and there are various knights holding their hearts in mediaeval tomb-sculptures in Sussex churches. Nos. 11 and 12, with busts of Seymour and Shakespeare look like issues for collectors.

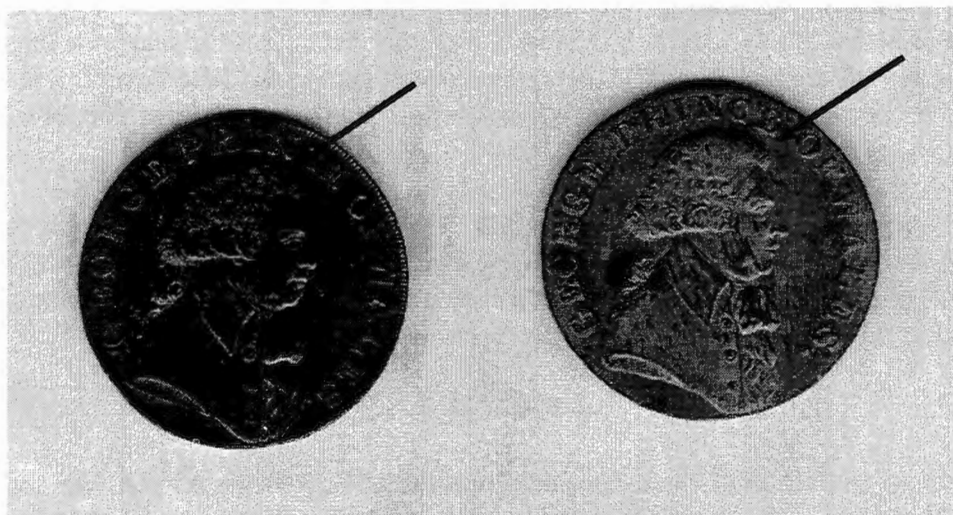


Figure 3. The Prince of Wales's forelock.

Its location provides the difference between obverses of Sussex nos.3 & 4 (left) and no.2 (right), and between Essex nos. 37 & 38 (left) and no.36 (right), but, in reverse numerical order, Middlesex (called by D&H 'London') nos. 963 -966 (left) and 967 (right).

Edges, rarity, and usage classification. Using the previously described criteria, which seemed to work for Essex, review of the edges of the Brighton issues and their relative scarcity according to D&H, can be added to this town survey. The first and obvious thing to consider is that the Sussex nos.10 -12 bear the legend "Payable at W Mighells" on either the reverse or obverse. Although this retailer cannot yet be found in the local histories of Brighton, presuming that it is not totally fictitious (and the locals would have known that) these tokens must be genuine and intended to be redeemable (code GR).⁹

D&H Sussex nos. 7 & 8 are rare, and all have an obverse of a standing officer, with the legend "Brighton". These look like genuine but for collectors (code GC). D&H no.6 has that same standing officer and the improbable view of the Bastille, which D&H reckons common. If that is true, then with the generic "Payable in London or Brighton" edge, it would probably be genuine but not redeemable (code GNR). However, a quick

flick through some sales lists over the last couple of years does not support a 'common' attribution, and the potential exists that this was also intended for collectors (code GC); readers with evidence against this presumption will be gladly acknowledged.

That returns us to Prinnie. Nos 2, 3a, and 4 are common according to D&H, and recent dealers catalogues. Marked for Brighton Camp, and not for a particular retailer, as well as often being in worn condition, we seem here to have a group of tokens that are genuine for circulation but not redeemable by any particular retailer (code GNR). It is true that Sussex no.3 is written up as very rare, but as we have seen above that might just be an accident of the dies used and the edges prepared: again GNR, in spite of D&H RRR category. The Essex equivalents are also often worn, and currency within the two military camps seems likely. D&H has Sussex no.5 as scarce; it is the one with the 1795 reverses, and is unknown in Essex. The reverse does appear in 'Middlesex', and there no.963 is common, but 964 rare. Perhaps Sussex no.5 represents the last part of a large order; if so, then GNR seems to apply.

It would be remiss not to note that this use of the Prince of Wales's emblems for copper tokens was not a new idea. There are many examples in Williamson from about a hundred years earlier.¹⁰ This is just one, relatively small, example of how the designs of Conders should not be seen as an isolated phenomenon of the century in which they were minted.

Like many towns in both the United Kingdom and the United States, the railway came to Brighton and Hove in the mid-19th century and greatly catalyzed their growth. This brought to Brighton a jewel of a Victorian railway terminus, if on a provincial, rather than a Paddington Station scale. Today, it is an easy escape for a day- or afternoon-trip to that provincial terminus in Brighton; it takes about 60 - 75 minutes to reach the coast from Victoria Station in central London. The twin towns are now, by far, the largest conurbation in Sussex. But the mediaeval street pattern of Brighton is still there, and its old market place embedded in those little blocks, can also still be seen. That neighbourhood is now known as 'The Lanes', and is filled with antique shops and several excellent restaurants and pubs, most notably those called *The Cricketers*, *The Sussex Arms*, and the *Bath Arms* (the last for unknown reasons). Prinnie's palace, officially known as the Royal Pavilion, is a spectacular building by European standards, and is open to the public.

Footnotes

1. Fisher J. Suffolk 15. *CTCJ* 2007; **XII**: 9-12 is an outstanding article from one of multiple possible quarters, and fulfills the anxiety that one had when venturing from Essex into Suffolk (see *CTCJ* 2007; **XI**: 9). Meddling in counties where others are better qualified to write is hazardous. Hence this diversion into Sussex, taking slightly less risk, because, for what it is worth, the author at least lived in Brighton for six months in the early 1980s.

2. Guillerms Rex (by order). *Liber de Wintonia*. Winchester, H.M. Treasury: 1086, p. 26c. Reprinted: Morris J (Ed) Chichester, Phillimore: 1976, 12:13-15.
3. Dalton R, Hamer SH. *The Provincial Token-Coinage of the 18th Century*. London: Reprinted in USA, BA Seaby Ltd, 1967, pp.33, 186-187, 253-255.
4. Although afflicted, George III was reasonably well regarded, not least because he could speak English, unlike his Hanoverian predecessors.
5. Fox AW. The Warley Issue (D&H Essex 36-38a). *CTCJ* 2004; **IX**: 30-35.
6. Fox AW. The *British Numismatic Journal* and The *Numismatical Chronicle*: Annual Review for the 2006 volumes. *CTCJ* 2007; **XII**: (in press).
7. If I was a Prince of Wales, then I think I would want my emblem on a coin worth more than two pennies.
8. This ignores D&H's failure to distinguish the City of London from Middlesex.
9. For the various proposed usage categories see: Fox AW. Essex Edgeways. *CTCJ* 2006; **XI(3)**: 11-16.
10. Williamson GC (Ed). *Trade Tokens in the seventeenth century*. Seaby, London, 1967 (3 vols.); pp. 34, 55, 190, 380, 382, 516, 518, 558, 560, 570, 621, 650, 655, 678, 693, 707, 708, 715, 791, 1024, 1045, 1084, 1361, 1379, 1418 and probably others missed.



Sussex 6, Brighton
Image courtesy of Cheapside Tokens

Ex Libris

The following is a listing of catalogues in the collection of the CTCC Library not previously listed in the journal. For a complete listing please refer to the CTCC website at <http://conderclub.homestead.com/index.html>

Catalogues:

Baldwin's Auctions #28 9 October 2001 (Soho Mint proofs including 9 lots of tokens, the Patrick Finn library) PRL

Baldwin's Auctions #30 8 May 2002 (5 token lots from the G. S. Hopkins collection) no PRL

Baldwin's Auctions #31 15 October 2002 (65 lots of tokens) no PRL

Baldwin's Auctions #38 4 October 2004 (76 lots 17th century tokens, 77 lots 18th century tokens, and 3 lots 19th century tokens) no PRL

Dix, Noonan, Webb #53 13 March 2002 (the Peter Preston-Morley Library of token books – Part 1) PRL

Dix, Noonan, Webb #55 8 October 2002 (the Norman Brodie Collection of Scottish tokens, tickets and passes – 470 lots) PRL

Dix, Noonan, Webb #56 11 December 2002 (the Eileen Judson Collection of British tokens (mostly 17th century) and the Dora Harris Collection of London 17th century tokens) PRL

Dix, Noonan, Webb #57 19 March 2003 (Eileen Judson Part II – 106 lots 17th century, 57 lots 18th century, the Roy Raines collection of 17th century tokens – 123 lots, tokens from the stock-in-trade of Barry Greenaway – 47 lots of 17th, 18th and 19th century tokens and 76 additional lots of mostly 18th century from other properties) PRL

Dix, Noonan, Webb #58 24 & 25 June 2003 (27 lots 17th century, 15 lots 18th and 20 lots 19th and 20th centuries) no PRL

Dix, Noonan, Webb #61 17 March 2004 (95 lots various British tokens) PRL

Dix, Noonan, Webb #62 30 June 2004 (88 lots of British tokens, tickets and passes) PRL

Dix, Noonan, Webb #63 7 October 2004 (David McDonald Collection of Scottish tokens – 18 lots 18th century and the Dr. David L. Spence collection of 18th century tokens – 239 lots) PRL

Dix, Noonan, Webb #64 14 December 2004 (148 lots British tokens, tickets and passes) PRL

Dix, Noonan, Webb #65 16 March 2005 (Robert Hogarth 17th century tokens – 139 lots, David Litrenta 18th century – 259 lots and 93 lots various tokens from other properties) PRL

Dix, Noonan, Webb #66 6 July 2005 (David Litrenta 19th century tokens – 39 lots and 124 lots various British tokens, tickets and passes) PRL

Dix, Noonan, Webb #67A 29 September 2005 (Dr, David Spence 18th century trade tokens (Part II: Middlesex – Yorkshire) PRL

Dix, Noonan, Webb #68A 15 December 2005 (30m lots tickets and passes, 46 lots 17th century tokens from the Tony Coker and Geoffrey Kay collections, 320 additional lots of quality 18th century tokens from unnamed collections.)

Additional library acquisitions will be listed in the next issue of the journal.

Harold Welch

James Wright, Junior (1768–98): The Radical Numismatist of Dundee

D. W. Dykes

Any claim to fame that James Wright, Junior, of Dundee, might have on the wider stage of history must lie in the fact that he was the father of a redoubtable daughter: Frances ("Fanny") Wright, the radical feminist and human rights' campaigner who John Stuart Mill called one of the most important women of his day'. To numismatists, on the other hand, Wright is probably better known as the designer of a number of 18th century Scottish tokens and as the author of introductions to the bound compilations of Denton and Prattent's *Virtuoso's Companion*, and to James Conder's *Arrangement of Provincial Coins*.

The former paper, entitled "Observations on Coins", had originated in a lecture on "Provincial Halfpence" that Wright had delivered to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland early in 1796. With some textual variations, and with the title to be used in the *Virtuoso's Companion*, it had appeared in print almost simultaneously in the February 1796 issue of *The Edinburgh Magazine*. Writing to the magazine "From a Country fire-side", Wright used the *nom de plume* "CIVIS", a cloak of anonymity he was to employ again in *The Edinburgh Magazine*, and also in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, *The Monthly Magazine* and elsewhere¹.

A fluent writer with a ready, if effusive, pen, Wright's literary life was tragically short, lasting little more than two years. His final and most discursive contribution to numismatic literature was his fourteen-page "PREFACE" to Conder's *Arrangement*. Although this was submitted by the end of 1797 Conder's ill health delayed publication of his catalogue until the late summer of 1798 and Wright, dying in the April, never saw his contribution in published form².

Wright's first two papers—his *Edinburgh Magazine* article, "Observations on Coins" of February 1796, and its brief supplement, "Observations on Provincial Coins", three months later—set out the essence of his notions about provincial coin design and what he saw as subjects worth representing on tokens. At the end of the year he published a conflation of the articles—his original Antiquaries' lecture with, as he told the Society's secretary, Alexander Smellie, "considerable corrections and enlargement"—in *The Monthly Magazine* for December 1796³.

"The amazing durability of coins", he says in this essay, "should ever be remembered by those who are concerned in issuing them; and such designs adopted as may reflect the most striking and interesting features of the present age". He goes on to list six categories of subject that "seem to deserve being signalized and recommended to imitation: ... *fac similes* of remarkable buildings ... representations of the great and useful undertakings of the present times ... Striking emblems of that spirit of industry and commerce, which characterizes the present times, and especially the British nation ... Illustrious characters, and men remarkable in British history ... historical events ... or ... symbols of the high spirit of political party ... [and] ... lastly ... [the] merely descriptive and curious" [e.g. James's "Pidgeon" elephant—"at least as well represented as the same animal is by ancient artists"]⁴.

By the time he had come to compose his preface to Conder's *Arrangement* Wright had refined his ideas on token design. Forward-looking, this last essay stressed his deepening medallic interest in, and growing appreciation of, the role of the token as a means of improving coin design and encouraging young medallic artists. Although, fundamentally, a reworking of his earliest theme, Wright had come to realise that the days of provincial coins "intended for circulation as pledges of value" were numbered. A market that had become flooded "by the basest imitations ... all diminished in purity and weight" would soon be supplanted by the "massy national coinage ... now on the anvil of fabrication for Government, by that ingenious and useful member of society Mr. Boulton". But if promissory tokens, discredited and about to become redundant, had not achieved the artistic potential Wright had earlier envisaged for them, he saw, nevertheless, a continuing role for those tokens "made for sale to collectors" as a species of medallic art. Standards, though, had to be maintained; "the fabric" of the tokens should be "improved" for those "recent pieces [by Skidmore, for example] finished in the metropolis" could "only impress a lasting stain upon the reputation of those who issue them". Token design should be "varied" with greater concentration on "useful commercial and public works", and



Plate I

historical portraiture and events. In particular, Wright stressed the desirability—and practical application—of the medallic recording of important buildings, both ancient and modern. Here he paid a not unnatural tribute to Peter Kempson (1755–1824), the Birmingham token manufacturer, for his "beautiful pieces" of Coventry and his "Gloucester medalets, wherein strength of engraving is united with elegance".

"Pieces have been struck", he tells us in the preface to "Conder", "bearing exact representations of almost every public building in London, Coventry, Birmingham and Dundee; beside sketches of many edifices in other cities and provincial towns. Thus a general view of the state of Architecture in Great Britain is exhibited; the preservation of which ... must be of extreme utility and value to posterity". From this he concludes—somewhat overbearing the cake—that "Architects may consult their interest in forming collections of these pieces; accurate though minute elevations being now given on them of several hundreds of edifices throughout the Kingdom ... that are not to be obtained otherwise but at a great expense ... [A]nd there can be no doubt that the *Medallie Study* might be rendered advantageous to the meanest artificer, from the variety of models and designs to be drawn from its objects"⁵.

Wright was to put his ideas into practice in the tokens he designed for himself and other merchants and tradesmen in Dundee—as he had mentioned—and in Edinburgh, Forfar and Perth with their representations of public buildings, commercial activities, harbour scenes and, occasionally, a more than cramped record of economic statistics⁶.

Unfortunately, despite his own stricture that "No piece whatever ought to be given by an individual or private company to the publick, as forming part of the circulating medium, unless it be

expressly made 'payable on demand' by the party whose place of residence it bears". Wright failed to ensure that all the issues he prompted were not "destitute of such a passport".

In part this was due to the distinction he drew between promissory tokens and pieces issued for sale to collectors. Wright himself, though, was not altogether consistent nor were his wishes always carried out. And for the modern numismatist a number of problems of attribution have thus been created. Of the fourteen tokens bearing Wright's "design signature" ("WRIGHT DELIN", "WRIGHT DES", "W DES" or variants of these), six are bereft of any issuer's name. These are the Dundee "Cross" silver shilling medalets (D&H Angusshire 2-4), "Admiral Duncan" pennies (D&H Angusshire 6), "Dudhope Castle" halfpennies (D&H Angusshire 18-20), "Infirmary" halfpennies (D&H Angusshire 16 & 16a) and "Horse and Cart" farthings (D&H Angusshire 40-42), and the Edinburgh "Register Office" halfpennies (D&H Lothian 52).

Samuel, followed by Bell, attributed the issue of the "Dudhope Castle" halfpennies to Wright on the grounds that their "flax heckling" reverses depict bales marked "DR" and "TR" similar to those on the "Horse and Cart" farthings which the compilers of the 1801 edition of Charles Pye's *Provincial Coins and Tokens* had already given to Wright¹¹. But, although inspired by Wright, Thomas Webster of Hawkhill, the Dundee ropemaker and sailcloth manufacturer and issuer of the Dundee "Public Warehouses" penny (D&H Angusshire 5), can be shown, on the evidence of the contemporary collector Miss Sarah Sophia Banks (1744-1818), and of Wright himself, to be the actual issuer of the "Dudhope Castle" halfpennies. Sending a specimen of the token to the Society of Antiquaries of Perth in June 1797, Wright indicated that "Mr. Webster here [Dundee] has, at my instance, ordered a £100 value of them for circulation—his name does not appear on this, but he has also ordered a 'Dundee Penny' on which it will"¹².

This reattribution of the "Dudhope Castle" halfpennies should not however lead us to deny the issue of the "Horse and Cart" farthings to Wright and give them to Webster. For the initials on the bales do *not* relate to the "Dundee" or "Tay Roperies" as Samuel and Bell posited and in which Webster is said to have had an interest. They are rather the markings that were found on parcels of imported Riga flax to denote the provinces or estates where it was grown ("DR" standing for Drujana Rakitzer and "TR" for Thiesenhausen Rakitzer). "Russia" flax, at this time, constituted the core of the import trade of Dundee for the coarse linen manufacture of the locality¹³. This was a trade in which the Wright family was intimately involved and the compilers of Pye's work were no doubt correct in their attribution of the farthings to Wright. Having said this, the "conceit" [Plate II] had more to do with the economy of Dundee than with the business interests of either the Websters or the Wrights as the statistics on the halfpenny and the Latin tag on the farthing bear out¹⁴.

For the time being the identity of the issuer of the Dundee "Infirmary" halfpenny must remain anonymous although some hint is given in Wright's correspondence with Alexander Smellie. "This [halfpenny]", he says, "was ordered for a Grocer here, though his name does not appear on it—a circumstance which I was not altogether pleased with"¹⁵. No doubt, eventually, it will be possible to refine the attribution of this piece and that of the Edinburgh "Register Office" halfpenny. This latter token, *pace* Bell, was intended for circulation but, says Wright, "the die cracked on the first essay, and was only able to strike about 300 pieces". The mysterious "Wright" given in "Pye" as the issuer



Plate III

might well be James Wright himself since there is no obvious link with Samuel's "John Wright", the Edinburgh draper and hosier who issued a brass trade ticket (D&H Lothian 57)¹⁶.

If Wright's draughtsmanship was sometimes eccentric he compensated for this by securing Kempson as the manufacturer of the tokens he facilitated and Thomas Wyon the elder (1767-1830) as the engraver of most of his dies. Wright's pictorial designs are remarkably consistent and are instantly recognisable. So much so, in fact, that the Perth farthing (D&H Perthshire 11)—struck by Kempson for John Ferrier as a pendant to his private halfpenny—clearly owes much to Wright although the final design was completed by one of the Scottish-engraving Menzies family, after Wright's death¹⁷.

A number of Wright's pieces are characterised by his use of a sunken ellipse or circle which was used to particular effect on his Dundee "Infirmary" halfpenny and which he probably persuaded his friend, the Reverend Robert Boog (c. 1750-1823), to incorporate in the design of the Paisley "Abbey Church" penny with its seal-like obverse impression (D&H Renfrewshire 1).

It was, Wright thought, a "beautiful invention", the original of which "seems to be from the hand of Augustin Duprè, a Parisian artist, in his fine *Medaille qui se vend cinq sols chez Monneron*"—struck on [sic] the first great acra of the French Revolution in 1790" [Plate III]¹⁸.

Wright's role as a designer seems to have been twofold: either by providing—direct or copied—existing prints or engravings to the die-sinker or by supplying his own original drawings.

Most of his "architectural" subjects fall into the former category. Although more work has to be done on Wright's sources there are clues to be followed up. Some of his Dundee buildings might well have been taken from the illustrations to Dr. Robert Small's *Statistical Account of the Parish and Town of Dundee* which he certainly used for statistical information while his Edinburgh views probably had their origin in architectural perspectives¹⁹. The more general pictorial views and the representations of human figures, on the other hand—the highlander (D&H Angusshire 1-4), the flax-heckler (D&H Angusshire 18-20) and the fisherman (D&H Perthshire 1-3a)—seem likely to be Wright's own conceptions. The case of the Dundee "Admiral Duncan" penny is more questionable. Produced by Kempson for sale to collectors after Wright's death, Wyon's obverse portrait of the admiral is paired with a Wright reverse, statistical clutter and all, but the charming "Adam and Eve" centrepiece has all the air of being copied from an engraving.

Wright, as we have seen, was constantly adopting a more medallist approach to token production as the tide was turning against promissory issues. In his preface to Conder's *Arrangement* he urged the establishment of a "MEDALLIC SOCIETY OF BRITAIN" for "the cultivation of elegant design and execution in Medals . . . commemorating various interesting productions, characters, and events relative to Britain".

Even in his first paper, in *The Edinburgh Magazine*, he had bemoaned the lack of attention given to such subjects in the Scottish provincial coinage. "The Abbeys of Melrose, Paisley, St. Andrews, Arbroath, &c and the best modern buildings in Edinburgh and Glasgow, would be desirable objects . . . Why are the features of Buchanan, Napier, the admirable Crichton, Hume, Robertson, Cullen, and Reid, consigned to the fugitive materials, and faithless charge of paper and canvas, and not a single medal recording their likenesses to posterity?"²⁰.

From his first tentative venture with Molison's "Old Tower" halfpennies (D&H Angusshire 10 & 10a) Wright tried to put his principles into practice, increasingly endeavouring "to have the figures on the piece much bolder and higher raised than is usually



Plate II (x2)

done, which is effected by having them more deeply cut into the dye"²¹. His influence, too, extended beyond those pieces with which he was immediately concerned. He supplied Kempson with the designs for the Loch Leven penny. He also inspired Boog to draw the symbolical reverse of the "Adam Smith" penny (D&H Fifeshire 1) and, as was suggested earlier, it is likely that the Boog-designed Paisley pennies (D&H Renfrewshire 1-2) owe a great deal to Wright's enthusiasm²².

But Wright's ambitions went further than this. Writing to Smellie in December 1797 he announced that he "had prevailed with an eminent Die-Engraver in England [Kempson] to strike a sett of *Scottish Medalets*—on his own account, for sale—to bear a number of interesting national objects". Wright was anxious to secure the help of members of the Scottish Antiquaries in obtaining suitable topographical engravings and portraits of Scottish personalities for this scheme. Already he was discussing with the antiquary John Pinkerton (1758-1826) designs for a common reverse for the medalets, taking care "to avoid the pedantry and stiffness of ancient Heraldry and to shun the affected novelty of modern fugitive taste"²³. Unhappily, Wright's premature death in April 1798 put an end to the enterprise and the only exemplars we have of what might have been are the "Loch Leven", "Admiral Duncan" and "Adam Smith" pennies.

James Wright claimed to be descended from a Highland family which explains the reverse imagery of his Dundee shilling and shilling medalet: an armed highlander accompanied by the legend "From the heath cover'd mountains of Scotia we came"²⁴. The family, though, had been established in Dundee over many generations and Wright himself was born in the town in 1768, the son of Alexander Wright, a local linen merchant of substantial means, and his wife, Janet Mylne. Orphaned at an early age, Wright was apparently brought up by his maternal uncle James Mylne (d. 1839), a Presbyterian minister (and later a professor at Glasgow University) and, according to the much later and questionable testimony of his daughter Fanny, was educated at academies in Perth and Edinburgh before attending Trinity College, Dublin. After some months on the Grand Tour he returned to Dundee and to a career in the family linen firm dominated by his uncle, James Wright, Senior²⁵.

Wright, though, was a reluctant businessman: his upbringing had inculcated tastes and habits far removed from the mercantile ambience of Dundee. He was much happier in his study than in the counting house and before many years had passed his financial affairs were in some disarray²⁶. Related through his mother to the intellectual *monde* of Glasgow, he was very much a product of the Scottish Enlightenment, and, of obvious ability, even as a youngster is said to have been corresponding with the likes of Adam Smith (1723-90) and the distinguished Edinburgh physician and chemist William Cullen (1710-90), a family connection.

Coins seem to have been his particular passion. In the course of a detailed eight-page critique of the second (1789) edition of Pinkerton's *Essay on Medals*, Wright introduced himself to the antiquary as someone who had been "from my earliest youth extremely fond of numismatic study [and was] possessed of a considerable collection of Coins & Medals". His daughter tells us, too, that he had "devised and cast some pieces of uncommon beauty, and made a peculiar study of the chemical admixture of metals best suited to the purpose. He was regarded and consulted as authority, in all connected with these matters, by Dr. Pinkerton, Mr. Planta, keeper of the medals in the British Museum, and others"²⁷.

Though Fanny Wright's impressions have all the likely flaws of received knowledge recollected half a century later, her father was certainly well-known to Joseph Planta (1744-1827), at the time keeper of manuscripts at the British Museum, both as a collector and as a benefactor of the Museum. The Museum's "Donations Book" still records Wright's gifts of tokens and token dies, although the latter were destroyed by enemy action during the Second World War²⁸. The nature and extent of Wright's coin collection are not known although from his correspondence with Pinkerton and from knowledge of the various donations he made it certainly embraced Greek and Roman coins as well as the Scottish series. By 1795, his tokens, as Wright tells us himself, numbered about two hundred²⁹.

Mystery surrounds the fate of Wright's collection. There seems to have been no auction record so presumably it was disposed of privately, perhaps to the dealer Henry Young (c. 1738-1811) from whom Wright had acquired many of his coins and whom he regarded as "candid, honest ... with ... considerable practical knowledge of coins" even if he was "not to be remarked for much taste or liberal education"³⁰.

In his dialogue with Pinkerton over the latter's *Essay on Medals* Wright questioned the accuracy of many of Pinkerton's statements and berated his assessment of the Scottish coinage. More directly to our purpose, Wright felt that in Pinkerton's "most excellent chapter on the progress of British coinage" [Volume II, 129-52] some reference ought to be made to "the beautiful pieces issued as pattern halfpence for the adoption of Government by Mr. Bolton [*sic*] of Birmingham—1788—imitated 1790. They are indeed the only coins bearing a monarch's head worthy of notice that have appeared since those of Mr. Croker".

Turning to a subject very close to his heart, he continued: "Some of the numerous copper halfpence lately issued by private Companies in various provincial towns of Great Britain, are worthy of praise. They are chiefly of the Years 1791-92-93 & 94 & meant to supplant the present base & barbarous national copper currency: most of them have that degree of thickness which is commendable in Coins; Letters well indented round the outer edge; & some few of them have buildings, bridges, or various figures emblematical of the industrious & commercial Genius of our country well raised, and neatly,—not to say elegantly engraved"³¹.

This was in June 1795. In a further letter two months later Wright returned to the subject of provincial tokens whose "immense variety, & generally neat execution, approaches the nearest to the Merit of the Roman reverses of anything in mintage that has occurred within so short a period in modern times". He went on, in the strain he was to adopt in his first *Edinburgh Magazine* article six months later, to categorise suitable subjects for token design "as this honour might tend to encourage the *future preference* of these sorts of devices to the silly morsels of heraldry, & servile flatteries of political characters which degrade many of them". "Escutcheons, mottoes, supporters, &c ...", he added in his article, "can transmit no *thought*, no *information* to posterity".

And this brings us to another side of Wright. Referring to architectural subjects, he expressed in the letter a sentiment that was only touched upon in the supplement to this first published paper where he had alluded to "historical events ... or symbols of the high spirit of political party" and briefly referred to "the imprisonment of Ridgeway and Symonds ... recited on London Halfpence". Now, privately, he was drawn to fulminate: "Messrs Symonds [*sic*], Ridgeway &c. have their halfpenny with a view of Newgate-prison, which commemorates the Aera when *British-Men*, like the ill-fated Romans during the detestible Spy-system, under the legislation of Tiberius—are liable to imprisonment, banishment & mulct, for speaking & publishing abstract opinions!"³².

If Wright's views had been more delicately expressed in *The Edinburgh Magazine*—perhaps edited out even—he was given somewhat fuller rein in *The Monthly Magazine* in December 1796 and allowed to refer to "the cruel imprisonment of Ridgeway and Symonds and the glorious and memorable acquittal of Hardy and others"³³. This brought forth a public censure from Charles Shephard, again an antiquary with a ready pen, who contributed a series of "ESSAYS ON THE PROVINCIAL HALF-PENNIES" to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1798 and 1799. Shephard, in the third of his articles, while praising Wright's numismatic contributions—and obliquely revealing "Civis's" true identity—took him to task for introducing "the uncertain subject of politics and anti-ministerial defamation in essays of a very different and more invariable nature"³⁴.

Personal experience coloured Wright's political views. Although married in 1792 to Camilla-Elizabeth Campbell, whose father, a Marine officer, was an Argyle connection and whose mother's family was numbered among the English lettered aristocracy, Wright was as far distanced from his in-laws' conservative political persuasions as he was from their social position. His uncle and supposed guardian, James Mylne, second minister to Boog at Paisley Abbey Church from 1783 to 1797 and then for more than forty years professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University and Wright's "most confidential friend", was a considerable influence upon him as he was later to be on Fanny Wright. Mylne was a member of the radical Whig circle at the university centred on his own father-in-law, John Millar (1735-1801), the professor of Civil Law and Jurisprudence, a man viewed at the time as an extreme radical and even near revolutionary³⁵.

Sharing the advanced political views of this group, Wright, like Mylne, quickly embraced the principles of the French Revolution³⁶. Dundee, at the time, was a centre of radical activity and, in November 1792, was the scene of serious rioting, variously motivated but occasioned by the uprooting of a "Tree of Liberty" by a group of "young gentlemen", including a son of Thomas

Webster¹⁷. Wright is said to have been a member of the Whig Club of Dundee which, in 1790, had voted a laudatory address to the revolutionary French National Assembly and brought down upon its head the wrath of Edmund Burke¹⁸. Essentially a political theorist there is no evidence that he was personally involved with any of the more extreme democratic organisations of the time¹⁹. But to Fanny Wright, her father "was instrumental in spreading thro' his own city and neighbourhood, popular translations of French treatises, political and philosophical". Moreover, he seems, by 1794 according to his daughter—but probably a year or so earlier—to have become the object of government surveillance for having promoted a cheap edition of Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man*, perhaps that "cream and substance" edition that was "in the hands of almost every countryman, and could be had for twopence"²⁰.

Local legend also had it that "being a superior medallurgist" Wright had "struck a republican medal in commemoration of the establishment of his favourite form of government in France" for circulation in the Dundee area. It was said that to escape prosecution he "one night, about twelve o'clock, got into a small boat at the harbour, with all his Radical medals beside him, crossed about half way over to Fife, and deposited the suspicious cargo at the bottom of the Tay; after which he returned, burned a large quantity of objectionable papers and books, then retired to bed, and no doubt slept sounder than he did the night before". The story was recorded years later by James Myles, a local bookseller. No doubt the tale was elaborated in the telling but Myles was the publisher of Fanny Wright's autobiography and may well have had a version direct from her when she visited Dundee in 1844²¹.

While the substance of the story may have some grain of truth there is no other evidence that Wright struck or caused to be struck any seditious medals. What then might have been the objects consigned to the depths a mile south of Craig Pier? The incident would have been too early for them to have been any of Spence's concoctions or the tokens of the London Corresponding Society although these were, seemingly, in demand in Scotland a few years later²². A clue may perhaps be found in a manuscript note of Miss Banks in the register of her token collection now in the British Museum. In this note she refers to two lead medals, acquired on 12 January 1793, "many of which", she writes, "were distributed at Dundee instead of Tom Paines Book . . . now hardly to be seen having been stopped by the leading People. It was said there were some distributed at Dunkeld. (They were distributed in 1792 or 1793)". In a separate manuscript list of acquisitions, also in the British Museum, Miss Banks refers to the medals again as acquired from "Mrs. Murray" and "distributed at Dundee"²³.

Miss Banks' medals [Plate IV] are those listed as 501 and 502 by Laurence Brown in volume I of his *British Historical Medals*²⁴. While Brown was unable to identify the medals' *raison d'être* their obverse legends in fact provide the key. The obverse legend of 501—"THE NATION IS ESSENTIALLY THE SOURCE OF ALL SOVEREIGNTY"—is the first clause of article III of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man* while that of 502 is Lafayette's maxim, "FOR A NATION TO BE FREE IT IS SUFFICIENT THAT IT WILLS IT". Both statements would have been perfectly familiar to readers of Part I of Paine's *The Rights of Man* and no doubt were commonly reiterated slogans²⁵.

The medals were intended, as Miss Banks noted, as popularly accessible substitutes for Paine's book. Indeed, they achieved a degree of notoriety in their time that Brown did not appreciate for they were among the evidence cited against John Elder, an Edinburgh bookseller, and William Stewart, a Leith merchant, who in January 1793 were indicted for sedition in one of the earliest Scottish treason trials of the French Revolutionary period²⁶. The case against Elder and Stewart was that they had published and distributed a broadsheet containing a reprint of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man* together with an outline of the origin of government, a condemnation of impress warrants²⁷ and the advocacy of equal representation, just taxation and liberty of conscience. At the same time they were accused of having had struck—by "James Bell, tinman or white iron smith in Leith"—and having distributed quantities of medals "bearing inscriptions of a seditious tendency . . . obviously calculated to stir up a spirit of insurrection and opposition to the established government" in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paisley and other parts of Scotland.

In the event, Stewart having absconded, the case against Elder was not proceeded with. But what is important to us is that the description of the medals given in the trial proceedings makes it quite explicit that these are *BHM* 501 and 502²⁸. And while it is admittedly speculative, it seems a not unreasonable flight of fancy to suppose that, if the story of Wright's midnight adventure is



(501)

(502)

Plate IV

true, it might well have been a consignment of these medals that he disposed of in the Tay, medals that in their crudity and naivety, but specific in their purpose, were a far cry from Wright's notions about medallic design.

Despite his public protestation in *The Monthly Magazine* Wright, as far as one can tell, kept a relatively low political profile after his riverine excursion. His interests lay with his growing family, his coin collection and, increasingly, his scheme for a set of Scottish medals. But time was not on his side. His wife, after a long illness, died in February 1798. Wright himself survived her by little more than two months, leaving three young children, the youngest scarcely a year old, and an estate encumbered with debt. Wright's death was a personal tragedy for his family. It was also, to quote Shephard again, "a considerable loss to the lovers of medals, as no person interested himself more in their improvement"²⁹.

Notes

- 1 Medallion of "James Wright" after William Tassie (1777–1860), dated 1800, in the collections of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery (PG 1941). The name of the subject "JAMES WRIGHT" is impressed into the truncation of the shoulder. While there is no definite indication that the bust is that of James Wright of Dundee, bearing in mind the latter's numismatic interests and particularly his latter-day scheme for a set of medals of Scottish personalities, it seems likely that he was known to Tassie and was the posthumous subject of the medallion. The apparent age and physique of the sitter would support this hypothesis.
- 2 For Frances Wright (1795–1852) see *Dictionary of National Biography* (under Darusmont, Frances); [Wright, Frances], *Biography, Notes, and Political Letters of Frances Wright L'Anson* (Dundee 1844); Waterman, William Randall, *Frances Wright* (New York 1924); Perkins, A. J. G. and Wolfson, Theresa, *Frances Wright, Free Enquirer* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 1972) (Reprint of 1939 edition (New York); Morris, Celia, *Fanny Wright* (Urbana 1992). Frances Wright exhibited to a remarkably heightened degree the independence of mind of her father. Recently described as a "ferocious radical" she was "a friend of Lafayette, founder of a utopian community for freed slaves, espouser of free love and relentless idealist"; *Times Literary Supplement*, 2 June 1995, 24.
- 3 *The Fortunate Companion* was originally issued in sixty parts, three plates to a part, between July 1795 and the late summer of 1797. Denton originally planned to publish 120 plates in four volumes, depicting 480 tokens, at a total price of twenty shillings. The final plates of volume four are dated September 1, 1796 and, presumably, the engraved frontispiece (dated 1796), Wright's introduction, and the cumulative index to the first four volumes (the first 120 plates) were issued for binding at this time.
- 4 Wright's original essay on "Provincial Halfpence" was delivered to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland on 16 February 1796 (*Archaeologia Scotica: Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Edinburgh 1831) III, Appendix III, 165). The ms text is preserved in the Society's archive [SAS] now housed in the National Museums of Scotland. Wright's magazine contributions may be found, *inter alia*, in: *The Edinburgh Magazine*, February 1796, 131–4; May 1796, 328–6; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, January 1797, 31–4; April 1797, 270–1; *The Monthly Magazine and British Register*, December 1796, 867–70; February 1797, 120; March 1797, 127–8. Wright's first essay of February 1796 appeared in other periodicals including *The Universal Magazine* and *The European Magazine*.

- 5 Wright died at Dundee on 17 April 1798 (*The Scots Magazine*, May 1798, 364) and was buried there on 21 April [information from Dundee Central Library]. There is some evidence that the "Preface" to *Conder's Arrangement* was also published as a separate pamphlet although the present author has not seen a copy. An early ten-page proof of the "intended preface to Mr. Conder's Book (not yet come out) by Mr. J. Wright Junr. of Dundee", dated "1797", sent to Miss Sarah Sophia Banks, with a manuscript draft of the last few paragraphs subscribed "X.T.", is in the library of the Royal Mint.
- 6 *The Monthly Magazine*, December 1796, 867-70; Ms letter, James Wright, Junr., to Alexander Smellie, 22 March 1797; The Letter Books of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland [SASLB].
- 7 *The Monthly Magazine*, *ibid.*, 868-69.
- 8 Conder, James, *An Arrangement of Provincial Coins, Tokens, and Medals issued in Great Britain, Ireland and the Colonies* (Ipswich 1798), "Preface", *passim*.
- 9 For Wright-designed tokens see Dalton, R. and Hamer, S. H., *The Provincial Token Coinage of the Eighteenth Century* (Cold Spring, Minnesota 1990) (Reprint) [D&H], 403-6, 408, 419, 425, 436. See also Brooke, David, "James Wright and his first Dundee Penny", *Darvison's Numismatic Notebook and Catalog*, 1994-1, 3-4. Thomas Willetts is said to have engraved the dies for D&H Anguashure 5, 23-6, and D&H Perthshire 1-4; Pye, Charles, *Provincial Coins and Tokens* (Birmingham 1801), Index, 9-10 and 16.
- 10 *The Gentleman's Magazine*, April 1797, 270.
- 11 [Samuel, R. T.], *The Bazaar, Exchange and Mart*, 29 August 1883, 228 (Nos. 415-17); Bell, R. C., *Commercial Coins 1787-1804* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1963), 245; Pye, Charles, *op cit.*, 10.
- 12 [Banks, Sarah Sophia], Ms Catalogue of Coin Collection, VI: Tokens, "Scotland", 161. British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Arc R19; Ms copy letter, James Wright, Junr., to the Rev. Mr. Scott of Perth, 26 June 1797; Perth Museum and Art Gallery, Archive 38. Letter Book 1785-1883.
- 13 Miss Banks in her Ms Catalogue refers to the letters "DR" and "TR" as "alluding to our large importation of Russia Flax" [Banks, Sarah Sophia], *op cit.*, 162. Doubtless she had this information direct from Wright: cf Ms letter, Wright to Smellie, *loc cit.*; see also Warden, Alex J., *The Linen Trade* (London 1864), 328 where the letters are explained.
- 14 Cf Wright's comment to Smellie on the reverse "harbour scene" of the "Old Tower" halfpenny that it was emblematic of "that *Commercer*" which has latterly so much elevated and enriched this very flourishing Town." Ms letter, Wright to Smellie, 21 December 1795. SASLB.
- 15 Ms letter, Wright to Smellie, 22 March 1797; SASLB.
- 16 Bell, R. C., *Tradesmen's Tickets and Private Tokens 1785-1810* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1966), 222-23; Ms letter, Wright to Smellie, *loc cit.*
- 17 The attribution of the Perth farthing to John Ferrier is derived from Miss Banks' Ms Catalogue, *op cit.*, 170.
- 18 *The Edinburgh Magazine*, May 1796, 326; Wright is referring to the token money struck by Matthew Boulton for the French bankers Moneron Brothers in 1791 and 1792 from dies by Augustin Dupré (1748-1833), the French medalist and engraver-general of Coins (1791-1803).
- 19 Small, Robert, *A Statistical Account of the Parish and Town of Dundee in the Year MDCCXCII* (Dundee n.d.), *passim* [I owe this reference to Mr. David S. Brooke]; Dalgleish, G. R., "Two Robert Adam Buildings illustrated on Edinburgh Trade Tokens", *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, New Series I (1991), 28-33.
- 20 Conder, James, *op cit.*, "Preface", [xii], *The Edinburgh Magazine*, February 1796, 132-33 (repeated in *The Monthly Magazine*, December 1796, 868-69).
- 21 *The Edinburgh Magazine*, *op cit.*, 134 and *The Monthly Magazine*, *op cit.*, 869.
- 22 Ms letter, Wright to Smellie, 14 March 1798; SASLB.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 11 December 1797; 14 March 1798. See also Brooke, David, "James Wright and his Scottish Medals", *Darvison's Numismatic Notebook and Catalog*, 1996-1 (forthcoming).
- 24 Miss Banks (*ibid.*, 158) states that "this inscription is from an old Scots Song". It is the second line of the song "In the garb of old Gaul" or "The Highland Character", now better known as a pipe tune, the words being by Sir Henry Erskine of Alva (d. 1765). [Information from Mr. Roger Duce of the National Library of Scotland].
- 25 Wright was baptized on 19 November 1758: *International Genealogical Index* (Angus); Perkins and Wolfson, *op cit.*, 4, 16; [Wright, Frances], *op cit.*, 3; Waterman, *op cit.*, 14.
- 26 Forfarshire (Angus) Particular Register of Sasines, RS 36/48 f 472v-476r.
- 27 Morris, Celia, *op cit.*, 6; Ms letter, James Wright, Junr., to John Pinkerton, 24 June 1795; National Library of Scotland, Pinkerton Papers [NLS], MS 1709, f 53; [Wright, Frances], *op cit.*, 3-4.
- 28 British Museum: "Donations" Volume 1, CE 30/2: 4 August 1797, "Several Provincial Coins, two in silver, and five in copper, also the die of one side of an Edinburgh Halfpenny from Mr. James Wright of Dundee"; 4 December 1797, "Eight dyes for provincial Coins from James Wright Junior of Dundee". [I am grateful to Mr. Christopher Date of the Museum's Central Archives for this information].
- 29 Ms letters, Wright to Pinkerton, *passim*; NLS.
In addition to those to the British Museum, Wright's benefactions included numismatic, antiquarian and natural history specimens to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, (itemised in his correspondence with Smellie and in *Archaeologia Scotica: Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Edinburgh 1831), III, Appendix, 77-79, 81-85); and to the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth (*Transactions of the Society*, I, 1827-; Perth Museum and Art Gallery, Archive 805).
- 30 Ms letter, Wright to Pinkerton, 25 June 1795, f 54; NLS.
- 31 *Loc cit.*
- 32 *Ibid.*, 14 August 1795 (postscript to letter of 13 August 1795), f 59. For the "Newgate" tokens see Waters, Arthur W., *Notes ... respecting the Issues of the Eighteenth Century Tokens struck for ... Middlesex* (Leamington Spa 1906), 27; Bell, R. C., *Political and Commemorative Pieces simulating Tradesmen's Tokens 1770-1802* [Fehstowle 1987], 121-24.
- 33 *The Edinburgh Magazine*, February 1796, 132; *Virtuoso's Companion*, 2; *The Monthly Magazine*, *op cit.*, 869.
- 34 [Shephard], [Charles], "Of the Publications on the subject of Provincial Half pennies", *The Gentleman's Magazine*, March 1798, 215.
- 35 Wright's father-in-law, Duncan Campbell died, a major-general of the Royal Marines, on 5 November 1809; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, December 1809, 1176. Mrs. Campbell was descended from the Robinsons of Rokeby and was the niece of the redoubtable Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu (1720-1800), the London intellectual socialite and original "blue-stocking". For James Mylne see Brown, Robert, *History of Paisley*, 1 (Paisley 1886), 98 and Courts, James, *A History of the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow 1909), 318, 349 and 383.
For John Millar and Mrs. Montagu see DNB.
- 36 Significantly, Wright adopted the mottoes: *Pro Rege Saepé* and *Pro Republica Semper*. These were the mottoes of the seemingly unrelated Wrights of Cliftonhill and Kersey. There is no clear evidence that Wright was armigerous and thus, in Scots heraldic law, entitled to a motto. About 1794 he discreetly dropped these mottoes for the less qualified *Patria Cara* *Canor Libertas*. [Wright, Frances], *op cit.*, 5.
- 37 Logue, Kenneth, J., *Popular Disturbances in Scotland 1780-1815* (Edinburgh 1979), 149-52; Whatley, Christopher, A., Swinfen, David B., and Smith, Annette, M., *The Life and Times of Dundee* (Edinburgh 1995), 130. In the course of the disturbances Thomas Webster's house in the Hawkhill was attacked by the mob.
- 38 Burke, Edmund, *Reflections on the Revolution* (Oxford 1993), 241. Burke wryly comments that he believed the members of the Dundee club would be "less liberal of their money than of their addresses; and that they would not give a dog's ear of their most crumpled and ragged Scotch paper for twenty of your fairest assignats".
- 39 Such as the extreme radical Revolution Society or the Friends of Liberty.
- 40 [Wright, Frances], *op cit.*, 3; Meikle, Henry W., *Scotland and the French Revolution* (Glasgow 1912), 95, quoting Sir William Maxwell of Dumfriesshire to Henry Dundas, the Home Secretary.
- 41 "Wright the Republican", *Dundee Courier* (c. 1850): Dundee Central Library, Lamb Collection 219 (22). The same authority credits Wright with the feat of swimming the two-mile breadth of the Tay on another occasion.
- 42 In July 1796, presumably for the purposes of propaganda rather than currency, "medals like halfpence" were requested from the London Corresponding Society by an Edinburgh bookseller: Meikle, *op cit.*, 185, quoting Place Collection, British Library, Add Ms 27815, f 74.
- 43 [Banks, Sarah Sophia], *op cit.*, "Seditious Tokens, &c.", 5; [Banks, Sarah Sophia], Ms "List of coins &c. presents to me, & of d that I have bought": British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals.
- 44 British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, SSB 5-3 and SSB 5-2.
- 45 Brown, Laurence, *British Historical Medals 1760-1960*, 1 (London 1980), 123.
- 46 Paine, Thomas, *The Rights of Man* (Everyman's Library edition, London 1994), 80 and 91.
- 47 Howell, T. B. & Howell, T. J., *A Complete Collection of State Trials ...* (London 1817), XXIII, 25-34.
- 48 An impress warrant, countersigned by a chief magistrate or his deputy, was the necessary legal authority to allow a press-gang to operate in a particular locality.
- 49 *State Trials*, *op cit.*, 30-31.
- 50 Carolina-Eliza Wright died on 18 February 1798; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, March 1798, 259; Wright's paternal estate was transferred to his uncle, James Wright, Senior, in the face of the demands of his creditors: Forfarshire (Angus) Particular Register of Sasines, *loc cit.*; [Shephard], [Charles], *The Gentleman's Magazine*, September 1798, 742.
Thomas Sharp (*A Catalogue ... of the Collection of Sir George Chetwynd ...* (London 1834), 217) says of Wright that he "was a very ardent Collector, and by his example and influence was the means of greatly increasing the issue of provincial tokens in his native country, ... and many of the Latin mottoes, selected for the tokens, of which he supplied the designs, evince good taste and a knowledge of the Classics".

Acknowledgements

My special thanks are due to Mr. David S. Brooke of Williamstown, Massachusetts, who has independently been engaged on a study of Wright and his tokens, for his comments on an earlier draft of this article and for drawing my attention to a number of sources, including the Wright/Smellie correspondence in the Letter Books of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. He kindly provided me with transcripts of this correspondence, while the Society, through its Director, Mrs. Fionna Ashmore, supplied me with relevant photocopies. I am grateful to the Society for allowing me to quote from this correspondence.

Plates I and IV are reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery and of the British Museum respectively.

Thanks are due to the Lord Lyon King of Arms (Sir Malcolm Innes of Edingight), Miss Marion Archibald (the British Museum), Mr. Edward Besly (the National Museum of Wales), Mr. Nicholas Holmes (the National Museums of Scotland), the Trustees of the British Library and of the National Library of Scotland (including permission to quote from the Wright/Pinkerton correspondence), the Scottish Record Office, the Edinburgh Central Library, the Dundee Central Library, the Paisley Central Library, and the Perth Museum and Art Gallery (including permission to quote from the Wright/Scott letter).

What I'm Reading
(A Review of: *Great Tales from English History*)

Tom Fredette

What do the storytellers mean when they describe Lady Godiva's "naked" ride through town? What makes Alfred "great?" What is "Canterbury Water?" These are a few of the questions addressed by Robert Lacey in his small book *Great Tales from English History* - a retelling of tales which concern well known figures from English centuries which have passed. The time period of this volume spans a period which begins c. 7150 (Cheddar Man) and ends in AD 1381 (The Great Rising).

Lacey, the co-author of *The Year 1000* brings new life to the people and places he has chosen, a number of whom are pictured on the tokens we collect. His book includes references to places such as Colchester, Canterbury, London and Nottingham. He tells us about Alfred the Great, Lady Godiva and John of Gaunt. Included also are stories about the origin of The Order of the Garter and the Magna Carta, both of which have had some influence on late eighteenth century British token design. These are just a few of the many small tales included in this entertaining book.

In his Introduction, the author reminds the reader of several important points. The first is that "what actually, really, *definitely* happened in the past" is unknowable and imperfect but it is important. Another is that a nation's stories - its legends and myths - are central to its sense of identity, its laws, its architecture (and even its coins and tokens?). And, most importantly, the personalities, the heroes and heroines of the past reveal the nature of their humanity to us through their acts and our identification with them makes them "knowable." It helps us make the connection to their times.

One of the better known images on a Conder token is that of Lady Godiva. One image of this famous Lady can be seen on the 1999 CTCC member's medal. Whether or not she really rode through town naked may not be the whole story or its point. In fact, Lacey tells us that it is more likely a woman of her position would probably not have done this. He writes that:

Godiva may have ridden out symbolically naked - that is stripped of the fine jewellery and sumptuous costume that denoted her status as one of the great of the land. (Without) jewels and fine outer clothes - and without fancy hairpins, of course - her hair would have come tumbling down voluptuously. Riding penitentially through Coventry, an unadorned Lady Godiva would have made a forceful and startling statement by the standards of the year 1043.

Lacey enlightens the reader further with his tale of Alfred the Great. The writer previously made a small attempt at enlightening the readership of the Journal in his article which appears in issue #21 ("Why Was Alfred Called Great?"). Lacey provides additional knowledge about this very popular English king when he notes Alfred's humility as he moved among his subjects. To give his people protection from the Vikings and to allow them to improve their lives:

He built a defensive network of forts and fortified towns known as burhs from which comes the modern word 'boroughs'. As the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* reported in 893, 'the King had divided his army in two so that always half of his men were at home and half out on service, except for those men who were to garrison the burhs'.



MERCERY LANE, CANTERBURY

An example of the narrow thoroughfares of the Middle Ages still existing in many English towns

And what of "Canterbury Water"? The story of Henry II's culpability in the death of his advisor Thomas Becket is well known. Lacey's tale relates that once Becket's saintliness was revealed Henry became known as the villain in the story of Becket's demise and decided that he must do penance in order to gain favor with his people.

The King offered himself for five strokes of the rod from each of Canterbury's eighty monks. Then, wearing around his neck a phial of water that had been tintured with drops of Becket's blood, Henry dragged himself onto his horse and rode back to London. 'Canterbury Water' became a must-buy for countless pilgrims who flocked to Becket's tomb in the centuries that followed. The precious pink liquid was said to heal the blind and raise the crippled.

These three vignettes are brief examples of the entertaining and informative stories presented by Robert Lacey. Reading this book is an easy and pleasureable journey through these centuries of British life with the milestones denoted by the subjects he portrays. The stories contained in this small volume add to the reader's knowledge and will advance his or her enjoyment and study of the tokens we know and love so well.

References

The illustration of Mercery Lane, Canterbury comes from:
Hall, H.R. Wilton, *Our English Towns and Villages*,
Blackie and Son, Limited, 50 Old Bailey, London. (A neat,
old, little book.)

and

Lacey, Robert, *Great Tales from English History*,
Little, Brown and Company, New York, 2003, 254 pp., \$22.95.



Alfred the Great on Somerset 65 Courtesy of Cheapside Tokens

***The British Numismatic Journal and
The Numismatic Chronicle:
Annual Review for the 2006 volumes.***

Tony Fox

The British Numismatic Journal 2006

Britannia. The iconography of Britannia (the draped female seated with a shield bearing the Union Jack and with a trident in the other hand) is studied by Dr. Katharine Eustace.¹ The study is wide-ranging, from Roman copper to monuments in Westminster Abbey.

Mathew Boulton's involvement leading up to the 1797 'cartwheel' coinage is duly noted. However, Conder collectors will be disappointed. D&H Glamorgan 1-3, Hampshire 13, Lanarkshire 6, Lothian 60-61, Middlesex 1077 (a Spence farthing), Sussex no.17, the Warwickshire 53, 122, 331 & 472, and Worcestershire 10 have all escaped Dr.Eustace's notice, as has the later British Copper Company issues.^{2,3}

This article automatically generates questions. First, there are clearly many relationships between the designs on *our* Conders and for other coin issues, whether official or not.⁴ In this case, where do these Conders fit into an iconography that stretches from Roman times into the present day (e.g., the English 50p heptagonal issue, or the medal of the British Numismatic Society itself) ? Second, given that it is such a 'bloody obvious emblem' (as the British might say): Why was Britannia *not* more widespread amongst Conders in an era just before she appeared on the 1797 regal copper coinage ? Third, why do issues with Britannia on the reverse tend to congregate in northern England and Scotland ? Fourth: Are the seated ladies with mining equipment (e.g., Cheshire 31, etc) parodies of Britannia ?

Otherwise, there is a very nice article by Mr.Dyer on a mint-related murder in 1798. He's one of us, even if the events did take place in 1798.⁵ There is also a book review by Professor Dykes on the entire issue of *The big problem of small change*.⁶ I have not seen the book itself, but the motives for the private issues of the 1770s are a small part of that overall story. Lastly, about half a century before Conders, it turns out that Daniel Defoe, arguably the world's first novelist, was the son of a token-issuer and wrote on that subject himself, too.⁷

The Numismatic Chronicle 2006.

Dies and statistics. There are no articles in this year's volume that specifically relate to Conders. However, there is an article that addresses, intriguingly, the general case of estimating the original population of dies from a surviving sample of coins.⁸

My guess is that, in most of us, mathematical statistics evoke emotions that range from 'this has nothing to do with how *we* collect Conders' through 'baffles me' to 'makes me shudder' ! But I must say that, in my view, this article certainly might have something to

do with us. This article by Dr.Esty is as brilliant as it is generally applicable; its principles can be applied at least as well to Condors as, say, Roman denarii.

People basically understand the concept of probability. Given a well-mixed drawer containing 50 black and 50 white socks, what is the chance that a blindfolded person pulls out a white sock first ? Answer: 50% or 1 in 2. That is obvious. Then with 99 socks left, we can calculate the probability of picking a second white sock, and so on. People who play Keno at Las Vegas are capable of much more sophisticated estimates of probability than this.

Statistics is the exact opposite of probability. Given only a sample of picked-out socks (or Condors), then what can we know about the drawer-full of socks (or whole set of dies) that they came from ?

The problem in die studies is always is that we possess only a sample of all the Condors that were ever minted. This needs to be factored against the fundamental principle of statistics, i.e., that it is the reverse of probability.

This article by Dr.Esty tackles this problem precisely for numbers of coins in an observed sample, and the number of dies that are actually represented in that sample. Moreover, it is possible under some circumstances to assess how likely it might be that dies existed that do not actually appear in the sample that has survived.

The crucial statistic using Dr.Esty's methodology is the *Coverage* of the sample. This is a calculated fraction between zero and one, and estimates the proportion of the whole issue for which dies are seen in the sample. This is best estimated when three things are known: the size of the sample (number of coins), the number of different dies in the sample, and the number of dies in the sample that are represented by just one, single coin. However, there is an alternative method if the last of these is unknown. Using formulae for confidence estimates, the total number of dies (both seen in the sample and unseen), can then be calculated.

For those with larger samples of Condors, this article therefore becomes very relevant. There is also scope for collaboration to make the sample sizes bigger because that makes the calculations more accurate.

There are assumptions which are made in this statistical method, and these give rise to 'skepticism' (to use Dr.Esty's own term) about the calculated results. The most important is that the statistics are based on probabilities that assume that the sample of coins is randomly drawn from the whole issue. This may or may not be true. For example, a hoard of new coins might have come from a short span during a long minting period, and thus be biased: a large sample based on a single pair of dies. There might even be scope to use the D&H rarity grades as a non-parametric variable in all this mathematics.

A further comment, for those with a technical bent, is that Dr.Esty's estimates of 95% confidence intervals relies on a symmetrical, Gaussian probability density function. That

was worked out for biological systems (e.g., the morphology of peas), and nobody has validated that against other phenomena (e.g., coin minting).

But with Conders, we tend to associate new D&H numbers with each new die, and so, with care, we ought to be able to apply this statistical technology to our little corner of numismatics. Not only that, but, for example, when surveying the Essex Conders, in as best a manner as I could, letters came from people explaining to me, for example, how the die-cracks across Colchester Castle developed, and how this took what I wrote further. They were right. But basically this was a larger sample phenomenon. So there is scope, by calling a particular die crack a "new die" (although physically the same piece of metal) to assess their numbers. I also believe that the methodology might be made to work in reverse when each combination of obverse, reverse and edge (or D&H number) is believed to be exhaustive, and then to back calculate the size of the issue.

These notes are provided with the idea that the volumes may not be available to all Conder collectors. One hopes these surveys of the two principal, academic, British numismatic journals are of use. All feedback, positive and negative, especially if how to do this annual exercise better, is welcomed.

Tony Fox
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Footnotes

1. Eustace K. *Britannia: Some high points in the history of the iconography on British coinage*. *Br Numis J* 2006; **76**: 323-336.
2. Dalton R, Hamer SH. *The Provincial Token-coinage of the 18th century illustrated*. London: BA Seaby 1910, Reprinted 1967 in the USA, pp.41, 200, 255, 267, 277, 294, 311, 402, 414, 426 [D&H]. These are generally unindexed and there are doubtless a few more that have been missed.
3. Withers P, Withers B. *British Copper Tokens 1811-1820*. Llanfyllin, Wales: Galata Print. For example, pp.97-102.
4. The broader issue, I suppose, is whether we, as a club, are a bit blinkered by our strict focus on specimens that either are, or should have been, in D&H.
5. Dyer GP, Gaspar PP. Turning the fly. *Br Numis J* 2006; **76**: 357-359.
6. Dykes D. *The big problem of small change* [Book review]. *Br Numis J* 2006; **76**: 394-395.
7. Thompson RH. Daniel Defoe, son of a token-issuer. *Br Numis J* 2006; **76**: 353-356.
8. Esty WW. How to estimate the original number of dies and the coverage of a sample. *Numism Chron* 2006; **166**: 359-364.

THE CONDER ERA-1788

MICHAEL GROGAN

Ironmaster John Wilkinson was by now in the business of producing tokens bearing his portrait with three distinct reverse designs, the rarest being the handsome ship illustrated here [Warwickshire 336]. The token is from the Doty Collection and the image courtesy of Bill McKivor.



Significant world events during 1788 included:

The first edition of *The Times*, previously *The Daily Universal Register*, was published.

At what is now Sydney Australia, Great Britain established the prison colony of New South Wales, the first permanent European settlement on the continent.

In France, “The Day of the Tiles” riot occurred. This is considered by many historians to be the beginning of the French Revolution.

The steamboat was first patented in the United States by Briggs and Longstreet.

A fire devastated the city of New Orleans, killing a quarter of its population.

Louis XVI announced that The Estates General would convene in May 1789, the first time since 1614.

Notorious Scottish burglar William Brodie was captured, tried, convicted and hanged.

King Charles III of Spain died and was succeeded by his son Charles IV.

Poet George Lord Byron and philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer were born.

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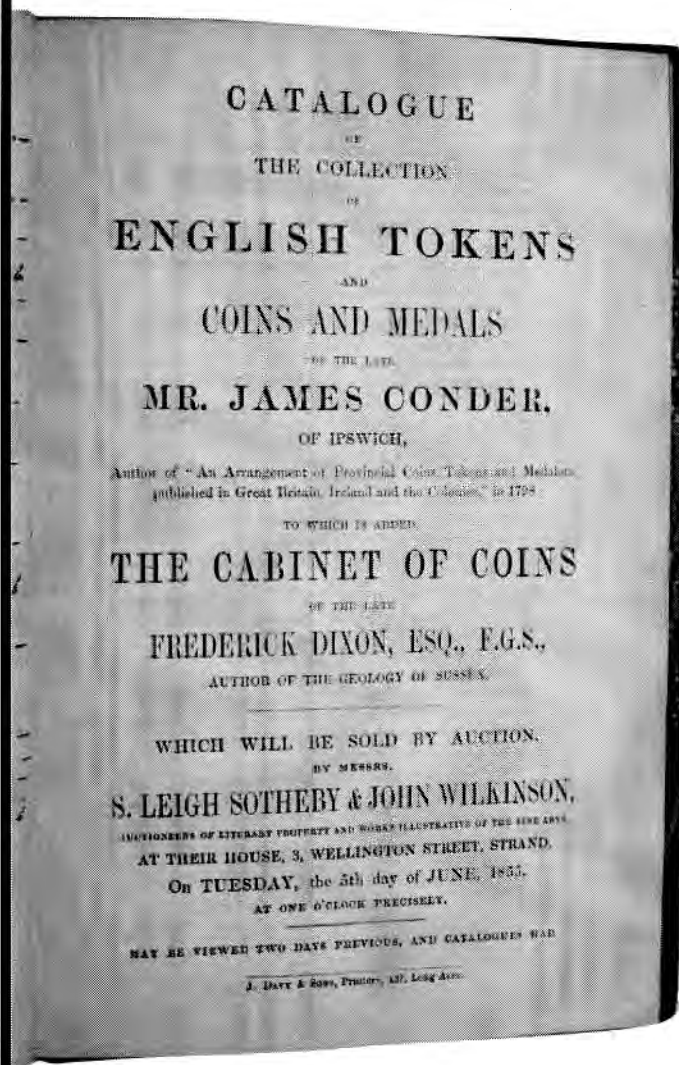
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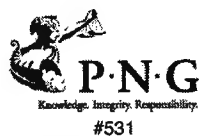
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